# CHAPTER 5 National Interest and Foreign Policy

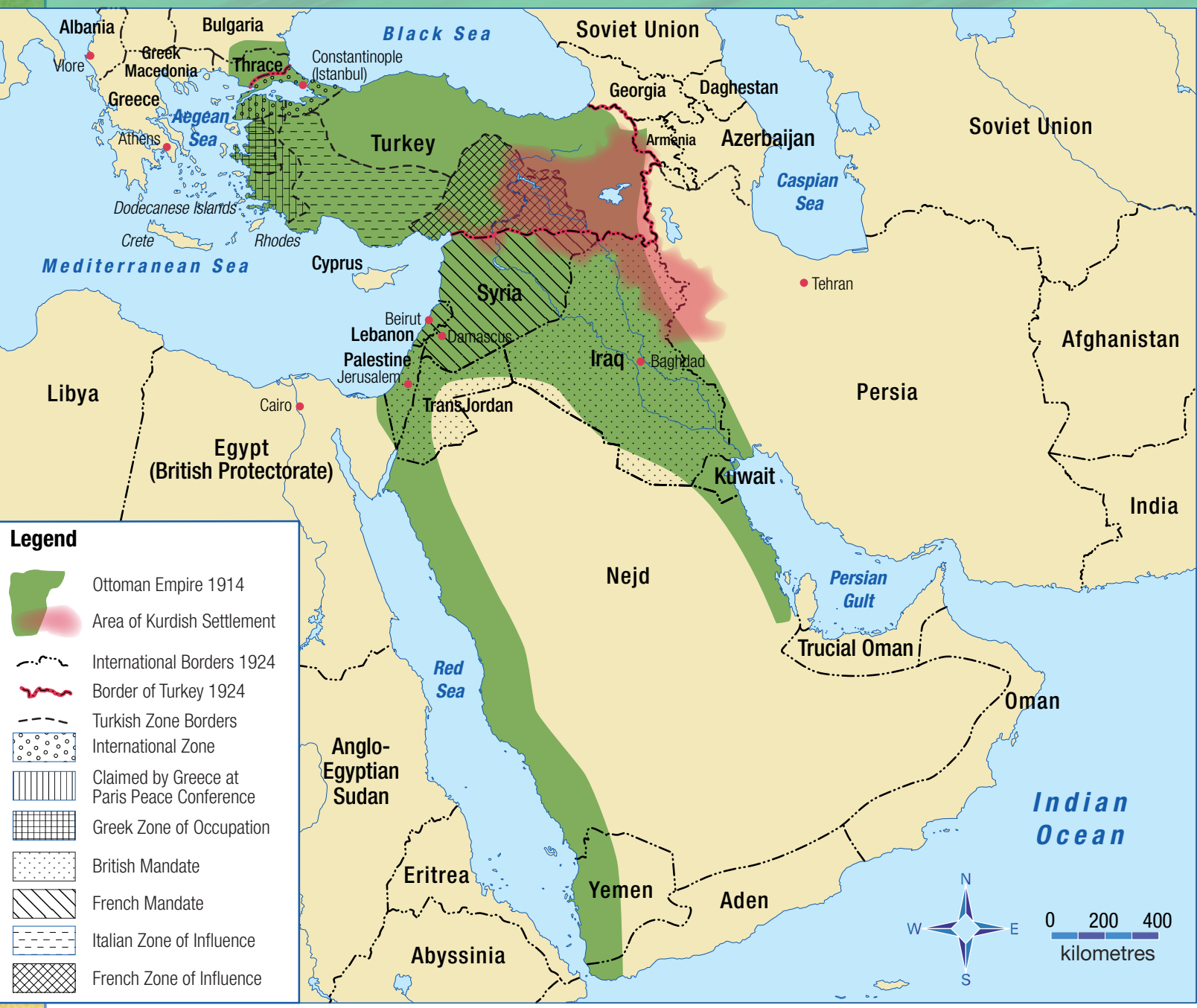



Figure 5-1 This map shows the Middle East before and after World War I. When the war started in 1914, many of today's Middle Eastern countries were part of the Ottoman Empire. After the war ended in 1918, this empire was dissolved and new countries were carved out.

## CHAPTER ISSUE

**To what extent do national interest and foreign policy shape each other?**

THE TREATIES that were drawn up after World War I changed the Middle East dramatically. The Ottoman Empire had dominated the region since the 13th century. At the beginning of the war in 1914, this empire included about 14 million Turks, as well as smaller groups, such as Arabs, Armenians, and Kurds. These minority groups were often denied basic rights.

In World War I, the Ottoman Empire fought on the side of Germany. When the war ended, Britain, France, and the United States were the three most powerful countries among the victors. They dissolved the Ottoman Empire and created new countries by dividing up the Middle East.

Suddenly and without consultation, the peoples who had been part of the Ottoman Empire lived in new nation-states, with new borders and different governments. The area known as Kurdistan, for example, was home to Kurds, a people who shared a culture, history, and language. This area was divided up among the newly created countries of Iraq, Persia (now Iran), Syria, and Turkey.

Examine the map of the Middle East on the previous page and respond to the following questions:

- How might the non-Turkish peoples of the old Ottoman Empire have reacted to the changes made by Britain, France, and the United States?
- What might Britain, France, and the U.S. have gained by creating these new nation-states in the Middle East?
- What nationalist emotions might the changes have aroused?
- How do you think Turks, Arabs, Kurds, and Armenians would have felt about the British and French administrators who controlled their new countries?

**KEY TERMS**

**national interest**

**peacekeepers**

**peacemaking**

**policy**

**domestic policy**

**foreign policy**

**gross domestic product**

### LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which national interest and foreign policy shape each other:

- How are nationalism and national interest related?
- How has national interest shaped foreign policy?
- How has foreign policy shaped national interest?

## My Journal on Nationalism

Look back at the notes you recorded about nation, identity, and nationalism in Related Issue 1. Use words or images — or both — to express how your understandings of nationalism changed as you progressed through that related issue. Date your ideas and keep them in your notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

## How are nationalism and national interest related?

Figure 5-2 Israelis shop at the Mahne Yehuda market in Jerusalem. Many Israelis share ethnic and civic national ties. How might this photograph show people's interest in economic stability and quality of life?

Think about criteria you might use to decide on actions that will best serve your interests now — and in the future. To do this, you probably need to explore various factors and ask yourself questions such as the following:

- How important is my physical safety and personal security?
- How important is my economic well-being and future prosperity?
- How important are my values, beliefs, and culture?

Sometimes, figuring out the course of action that is in your best interests is a matter of personal choice. When, for example, you selected the courses you would take this year, was your decision based on whether you enjoy the subjects or on whether the subjects would help you prepare for your future career? Or on other criteria?

Your interests are not always independent of those of others. You are a member of a family and a community. You cannot always make decisions based only on what will benefit you. You may need to consider the interests of your family and your community. In choosing, for example, the educational path that will best prepare you for a future career, your decision about what is in your own interest may be affected by your family's financial resources, the needs of your wider community, or your need for financial security.

Figure 5-3 In October 2006, the people of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, paraded camels through the street to celebrate Eid al-Fitr, the end of the fasting of Ramadan. How does this photograph show people's interest in promoting their beliefs, values, and culture?

Figure 5-4 In August 2006, this young citizen of Beirut, Lebanon, waited on a bus that would take her family to safety. A conflict between Israeli armed forces and fighters with Hezbollah, a militant political party in Lebanon, had hurt civilians on both sides. How might this photograph show people's interest in safety and security?

## Aspects of National Interest

Like individuals, people who govern democratic communities and nations make decisions based on what is in the community's or nation's interests. Whether a people's nationalism is based on a shared ethnicity and culture or shared beliefs and values, they want certain benefits for themselves and their communities. These benefits — their **national interest** — may focus on one or more of the following:

- economic prosperity — This includes stable employment and a decent standard of living. Governments acting in the national interest try to provide these economic benefits in various ways. They may, for example, pass laws ensuring that citizens are not exploited in the workplace. They may also enter into trade treaties with other nations.
- security and safety — Measures to maintain national security and physical protection include laws that protect citizens within the country, as well as secure borders that can be defended against intruders. Governments acting in the national interest try to ensure the personal safety of citizens, peacefully resolve differences with other countries, and control who enters the country.
- beliefs and values — These include affirming and promoting citizens' values, beliefs, and culture. Governments acting in the national interest try, for example, to safeguard and respect the shared worldviews, ways of life, traditions, and languages of their citizens.

With a partner, discuss several ways in which an educated population is both in people's personal interest and in the national interest. You may wish to use yourselves as examples. Share your ideas with another pair.

The world has changed in profound ways since the end of the cold war, but I fear our conceptions of national interest have failed to follow suit. A new, broader definition of national interest is needed in the new century, which would induce states to find greater unity in the pursuit of common goals and values. In the context of many of the challenges facing humanity today, the collective interest is the national interest.

*— Kofi Annan, while secretary-general of the United Nations, in "Two Concepts of Sovereignty,"* The Economist, *1999*

## Changing Views of National Interest

Just as people's understandings of nationalism may differ, their opinions on what is in the national interest may differ. The Israelis shopping in the Jerusalem market in Figure 5-2 might be concerned about stability in the supply and price of food. But the girl waiting to be evacuated from Beirut (Figure 5-4) is probably much more concerned about her government's ability to ensure her family's safety.

National interest is not static and unchanging. Events inside a country — a catastrophic storm or the loss of an essential industry — can change people's opinion about what is in the national interest. Events outside a country — the sudden flare-up of armed conflict between neighbouring states or the peaceful settlement of this conflict — can also change people's priorities.

Figure 5-5 On October 9, 2007, an Iraqi woman helped the Red Crescent Society by carrying boxes of supplies for people in Baghdad. The society conducts relief operations in many Islamic countries. On the same day, four bombs killed at least 12 people and wounded more than 60 in Baghdad. How does this photograph illustrate various ideas expressed by Kofi Annan in "Voices" about collective and national interests?

## Differing Views of National Interest

People often decide what is in the national interest based on their understanding of nation and national identity. Many Canadians, for example, take pride in Canada's reputation as a nation of **peacekeepers** — armed forces that maintain peace by keeping enemies apart until a crisis can be resolved through diplomacy and negotiation. As a result, these Canadians may base their decisions about what course of action is in the national interest on whether it will promote peace in the world. But other Canadians believe that Canada's peacekeeping role should shift to **peacemaking**, which allows soldiers to use force for reasons other than self-defence. This is what has happened in the conflict in Afghanistan.

**CheckForward**

You will read more about the debate over peacekeeping and peacemaking in Chapters 10, 12, and 14.

In other countries, people's ideas about the national interest often demand a strong military that can defend the country's interests against hostile forces. Condoleeza Rice was the United States' secretary of state in 2007. She said that when her country's interests are at stake, the American military "must be able to meet decisively the emergence of any hostile military power."

The government of China also believes that a strong military is essential. The government-controlled newspaper *China Daily* reflected this view when it said, "China's military might is meant to safeguard its own security and stability. It is meant to deter the hostile elements of Cold War mentality who attempt to threaten China's national interests with force."

Can a national government ever represent the interests of all citizens through a single national policy?

Kofi Annan, the former secretary-general of the United Nations, believes that the interdependence of nations in today's globalized world has expanded the meaning of national interest. But John Spritzler, a Harvard University research scientist, believes that there is no such thing as common national interests — even within a country. He says that "working class Americans have interests and values that conflict with the interests and values of America's very wealthy and powerful families. What benefits one typically harms the other: high unemployment, job insecurity, low wages."

With a partner, reread Kofi Annan's statement in "Voices" on page 117. What do you think he meant? Compare what Annan said with the preceding words of John Spritzler. Explain how these two views on national interest differ.

Figure 5-6 On November 18, 2007, Canadian soldiers took part in a ramp ceremony to honour Private Michel Lévesque, who was killed in Afghanistan. Canada's Armed Forces are actively engaged in fighting in Afghanistan because the government decided that this action is in the country's national interest. How does this government policy compete with many Canadians' vision of the country as a nation of peacekeepers?

## National Interest and Arctic Sovereignty

National interest often involves claiming sovereignty over territory. This is the case in the Arctic, where five countries — Canada, the United States, Denmark, Norway, and Russia — claim sovereignty to islands and the seabed.

In August 2007, Russia claimed part of the 1800-kilometre Lomonosov Ridge, which runs under the Arctic Ocean. The Russian government says that this ridge is an extension of its continental shelf. Russian scientists mapped part of the ridge, collected soil samples, and planted a flag on the ocean floor at the North Pole in a symbolic claim to the natural resources that may be buried there. Canada disputes this claim.

According to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, countries have sovereignty over 22.2 kilometres of sea beyond their coastline and control of the resources in and under the sea for 370 kilometres. Proving that the seabed is an extension of its continental shelf may give a country rights to harvest resources in a larger area.

Two factors have highlighted the importance of claiming sovereignty in the Arctic. The first is climate change, which is causing Arctic ice to melt. This melting may open the Northwest Passage — a water route connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans — to year-round commercial navigation, substantially shortening the distance ships must travel between Asia and Europe. The Northwest Passage is claimed by Canada, but other countries, including the United States, say that it is international.

Find the Northwest Passage in Figure 5-7. What arguments might the federal government use to support the idea that claiming the Northwest Passage is in Canada's national interest? Rate the strength of Canada's claim to this sea route on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = very weak; 5 = very strong).

The second factor that has made Arctic sovereignty an issue is the discovery of extensive oil, natural gas, gold, tin, and diamond deposits in the Arctic seabed. The United States Geological Survey, for example, suggests that 25 per cent of the world's undiscovered oil and gas resources may lie in the Arctic.

Figure 5-7 The Arctic

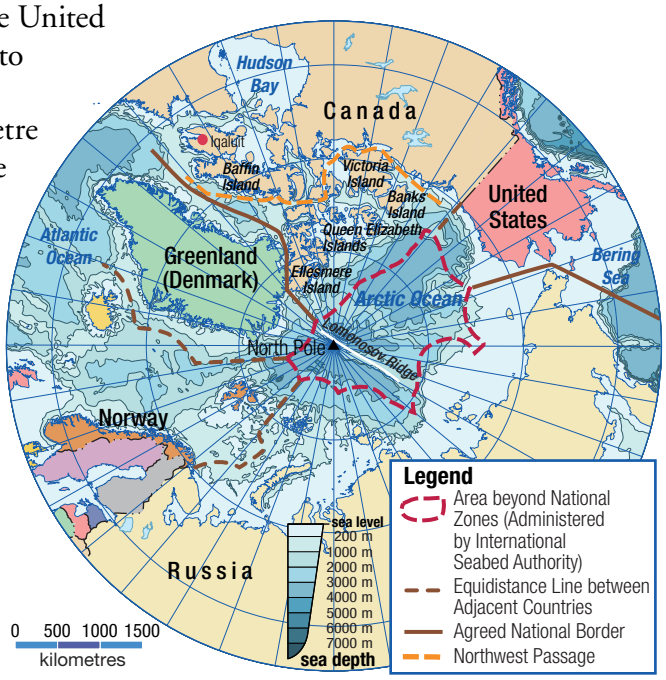


Figure 5-8 Roger Hitkolok of Kugluktuk, Nunavut, is a Canadian Ranger. About 1300 Rangers, who are under the command of the army, provide a Canadian military presence in the Arctic. Does this military presence serve Canada's national interest? Explain your response.

### Reflect and Respond

National governments often make a decision about what is in the national interest, then work to persuade citizens to support it. With a partner, choose either peacemaking or Arctic sovereignty and list five strategies the government could use to "sell" the idea to Canadians. Explain how each strategy would be effective.

# Building Consensus

FOCUS ON SKILLS

In August 2007, Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced that Canada would protect the sovereignty of its Arctic territory by

- sending new patrol ships
- increasing aerial surveillance
- expanding the Canadian Rangers
- building a Canadian Forces Arctic training centre in Resolute Bay, Nunavut
- establishing a deep-water docking and refuelling port at Nanisivik, Nunavut

Suppose your class was asked to come up with a recommendation in response to this statement: Because Arctic sovereignty is important to the national interest, the Canadian government should aggressively pursue Canada's claim to the Northwest Passage.

To do this, you will need to build a consensus — a general agreement. Building consensus is a collaborative process that involves exchanging ideas, listening carefully to others, and finding a response that everyone can live with. You will begin by developing a group consensus, then move on to build a class consensus.

## Steps to Building Consensus

### Step 1: Set up and organize the process

In a small group, choose a moderator who will keep group members focused on the task and ensure that the discussion moves smoothly. In addition, choose a recorder to keep track of group members' points of view as you move toward consensus.

On a sheet of paper, create a chart like the following to track your group's progress.

**Protecting Canada's Claim to the Northwest Passage**

| Point of View | Reasons for This View | Group Members' Comments | Possible Compromises among Various Views |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | |
| 2 | | | |
| 3 | | | |
| 4 | | | |

### Step 2: Explore and evaluate possible responses

Recall what you have already read about Arctic sovereignty, then read the points of view and perspectives presented on the following page. Decide on your own response to the statement and present it to the group. Then listen while other group members state — and give reasons for — their view. The recorder should note views and reasons on the chart.

Once everyone has stated his or her position, analyze and evaluate each view by asking questions like these:

- What would be the short- and long-term effects of decisions based on this view?
- To what extent would this response resolve the issue?
- Which response is the most practical and workable?

### Step 3: Compromise and negotiate

Try to narrow down the alternatives and work toward a compromise. Remember that there may be more than one reasonable way to pursue national interest in this situation. Group similar responses and identify responses that differ from the majority opinion. Discuss conditions or limits that you could add to your group response to accommodate various views.

### Step 4: Call for consensus

When it seems that group members agree, the moderator should ask whether anyone still has concerns. If no one raises concerns, the moderator can declare that consensus has been reached.

### Step 5: Work toward a class consensus

Present your group's consensus to the class and follow similar steps to arrive at a class consensus.

Prime Minister **Stephen Harper**, in a speech at Resolute Bay, Nunavut, on August 10, 2007.

> Even Canadians who have never been north of 60 feel [the sense of "romantic patriotism"' inspired by the Arctic]. It's embedded in our history, our literature, our art, our music – our Canadian soul. That's why we react so strongly when other countries show disrespect for our sovereignty over the Arctic . . . Protecting national sovereignty – the integrity of our borders – is the first and foremost responsibility of the national government.

**Franklyn Griffiths**, a Canadian political scientist and expert on Canadian–Russian affairs in *The Globe and Mail* on November 8, 2007.

> Some say [that Canada] must now engage the U.S. in a negotiation to secure the outright recognition of our Arctic sovereignty claim. I say the best way to endanger a sovereignty that's well in hand is to pick a fight with the U.S. Navy and stick to it. This we would do in seeking to make the United States bow on the law when we are secure in the benefits of de facto [already existing, though it may not be official] control of the Northwest Passage.
>
> The Prime Minister should instead begin to offer leadership in helping us Canadians lay our Arctic sovereignty obsession to rest. He should engage not the United States in the name of Arctic sovereignty, but the people and government of Nunavut in the name of Arctic stewardship.

**Michael Byers**, University of British Columbia professor, in his 2007 book, *Intent for a Nation: What Is Canada For?*

> Canada, by fate and geography, is destined to be an Arctic country. Climate change and the global demand for natural resources are only accelerating the process, while introducing international elements – such as an ice-free Northwest Passage and a continental shelf dispute with Russia – that previous generations could not have imagined . . . In the North, the Inuit and other indigenous peoples are our sentinels, soldiers and diplomats. It is time for southern Canadians to look up, way up, and provide serious support for their efforts to build a true North strong and free.

**Mary Simon**, president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the national organization representing Inuit, in *The Walrus*, November 2007.

> For the Inuit, [the Arctic] is our homeland, the place where we want to be. For all Canadians, the Arctic must become part of daily life, not just a remote region with beautiful icescapes and polar bears. It is a place where people live, where families are raised, where problems need solving, and where resources exist that will continue to nurture people and finance this wonderful place called Canada. We are here and we will stay. We are also here to work with governments as stewards and guardians of this homeland.

From an online poll conducted in August 2007 by **Angus Reid Global Monitor** to find out what Canadians think about Arctic sovereignty.*

| Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? | Agree | Disagree | Not sure |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canada should invest heavily on securing sovereignty over its Arctic territory. | 75% | 16% | 10% |
| Russia represents a bigger threat than the United States to Canada in matters related to Arctic sovereignty. | 53% | 29% | 19% |
| I have confidence in the government of Stephen Harper to secure Canada's Arctic sovereignty. | 44% | 43% | 13% |
| Canada should plant a flag on the Arctic's seabed. | 51% | 33% | 16% |

* Figures have been rounded.

### Summing Up

You will encounter other situations in which reaching a consensus is important. Following this process will help find solutions that everyone can accept.

# How has national interest shaped foreign policy?

A **policy** is a plan of action that has been deliberately chosen to guide or influence future decisions. Your school, for example, probably has policies to guide decisions about what is in the individual or collective interests of the students and staff. One policy may state that students and staff must treat each other with dignity and respect. Other policies may deal with rules about plagiarism and attendance.

A country's government is responsible for developing both **domestic policy** and **foreign policy**.

- domestic policy — Guides decisions about what to do within the country. In Canada, domestic policy may guide decisions about changing federal laws, settling Aboriginal land claims, and spending tax revenues.
- foreign policy — Guides decisions about official relations with other countries. Foreign policy, which is often called external relations or foreign affairs, may involve co-operating with international organizations such as the United Nations, signing treaties, establishing trade relations with foreign states, and taking action on human rights, world health, and environmental issues.

Foreign policy decisions may have relatively short-term effects on a limited number of people or long-term effects on millions of people. Some foreign policy decisions made at the end of World War I, for example, are still affecting the world today. Many people believe that the turmoil in Middle Eastern countries relates directly to the foreign policy decisions of the United States and European countries as they pursued their national interests at the end of World War I.

Figure 5-9 shows how domestic and international events shape — and are shaped by — nationalism, the pursuit of national interest, and foreign policy. All can awaken nationalist feelings. These feelings can cause citizens to revise their opinions about what is in the national interest. In response to these changing ideas, governments may alter their foreign policies.

With a partner, examine Figure 5-9. Then think about Canada's policy of pursuing its claim to the Northwest Passage. Create a similar diagram, but replace "Foreign Policy" with "Claiming Northwest Passage." In the other bubbles, replace the general connections with specific connections related to the Northwest Passage.

When terrorist threats are regular occurrences, when acts of genocide are visible in our living rooms, when crossing international borders becomes an anxiety-ridden challenge, when frightening diseases and environmental issues have no boundaries, when our economic survival depends so starkly on access to the market of a single foreign power, Canadians begin to realize that foreign policies actually have some relevance to their personal lives.

*— Allan Gotlieb, former Canadian ambassador to the United States, 2004*

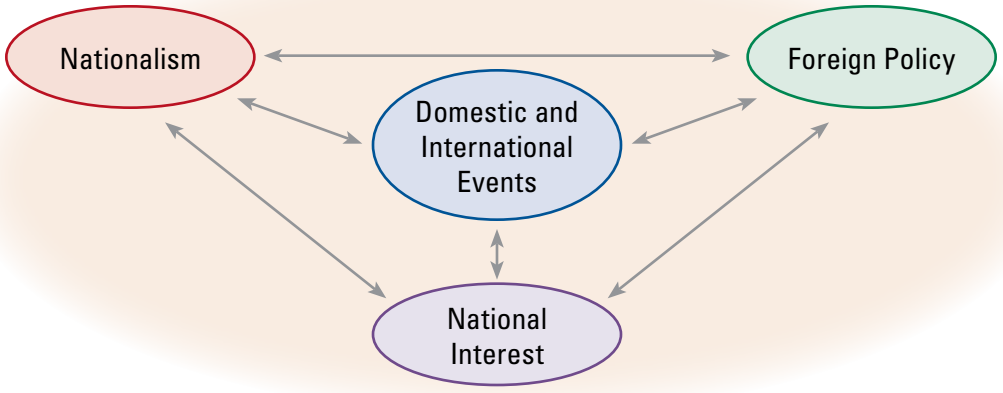



Figure 5-9 Nationalism, National Interest, and Foreign Policy

## National Interest and World War I Peace Settlements

World War I was fought in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. On one side were the Central Powers, led by Germany; on the other were the Allies, led by Britain. The world had never experienced such a wide-ranging and deadly war. Millions of people died, and the financial cost was enormous.

Before World War I, nationalism had flourished in Europe. Many historians believe that nationalism and people's beliefs about their national interest were important causes of this war.

European governments, for example, believed that expanding their territory in Europe, as well as their colonial possessions, was in their national interest. This belief was a foundation of their foreign policy, which led them to form alliances with other European countries. Alliance members agreed to help one another when one country was threatened. This system of alliances was one factor that brought so many countries into the war so quickly.

Most people affected by World War I had had no say in the decision to go to war. If you lived in the Ottoman, Russian, or Austro-Hungarian empires, for example, you were at war when your rulers declared war. If you lived in Canada, you were included in Britain's declaration of war. Your national interests were not considered.

After more than four years of brutal fighting, an armistice — truce — was declared at 11 a.m. on November 11, 1918, and the war ended.

Figure 5-10 Gavrilo Princip, a member of a Serbian nationalist group, assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and his wife when they visited Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Princip's action sparked the events that drew members of European alliances into war with one another as each country tried to protect its national interests.

### Treaty Negotiations in France

World War I was fought over sovereignty and territory, economic interests and security, and nationalism and national identity. These issues also dominated the discussions at the peace talks that took place in Paris, France, from 1919 to 1920.

The victorious Allies, especially France and Britain, wanted to punish Germany by imposing harsh conditions. Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain, Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau of France, and President Woodrow Wilson of the United States led the most powerful Allied countries. As a result, they made many of the treaty decisions that had far-reaching effects on millions of people.

The financial, military, and territorial penalties imposed on Germany and the Central Powers were severe. The Treaty of Versailles required Germany to reduce its military strength, pay war reparations — compensation — of $30 billion, give up territory in Europe as well as its colonies, and accept responsibility "for causing all the loss and damage" that had affected the Allies.

Read "FYI" and think about what happened to Germany and Canada at the peace conference in Paris. How would you describe the nationalist feelings that might have been evoked in the two countries? Can some nationalist feelings be healthy, while others are unhealthy? If not, why not? If so, what makes the difference?

**Web Connection**

To find out more about the events set in motion by Gavrilo Princip's actions, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

**FYI**

Before World War I, Britain still controlled Canada's foreign policy. This is why Canada was automatically at war when Britain declared war. But Canada made an important contribution to the Allied victory, so Prime Minister Robert Borden demanded — and won — the right to attend the Paris Peace Conference and sign the peace treaty as an independent country.

# Woodrow Wilson
## Visionary or Dreamer?

MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

As World War I raged in January 1918, American president Woodrow Wilson presented a road map for ending the war and establishing long-lasting peace. Wilson called his plan the Fourteen Points.

Wilson believed that the Fourteen Points would make the world safe "for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, and be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression."

Under Wilson's plan, countries would negotiate treaties openly, navigate the seas freely, engage in equal trade, and require fewer war weapons. Colonized peoples would be consulted when colonial claims were decided. Borders would be changed to recognize peoples' sense of nation.

The Fourteen Points did not require Germany to pay reparations, and German leaders supported Wilson's plan. But the Allies began to change Wilson's plan nearly as soon as the armistice was signed. Among the changes were demands that Germany pay reparations and accept guilt for starting the war. Many Germans were bitterly disappointed by this turn of events — and this disappointment sparked the lasting bitterness that would become one of the chief causes of World War II.

One of Wilson's key proposals called for the creation of the League of Nations. This international organization would ensure "political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Rather than maintain a balance of power between equally armed enemies, the League of Nations would ensure that countries co-operated in the interest of their collective security.

Some people called Wilson a dreamer. They said that he had not thought through how his proposals would work. French prime minister Georges Clemenceau, for example, called Wilson's plan "the fourteen commandments of the most empty theory." Other critics said Wilson's idea for the League of Nations did not take into account longstanding nationalist fears and hatreds that would prevent countries from trusting their security to an outside organization.

In the end, political opponents in Wilson's own country turned public opinion against him and the U.S. refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles or join the League of Nations.

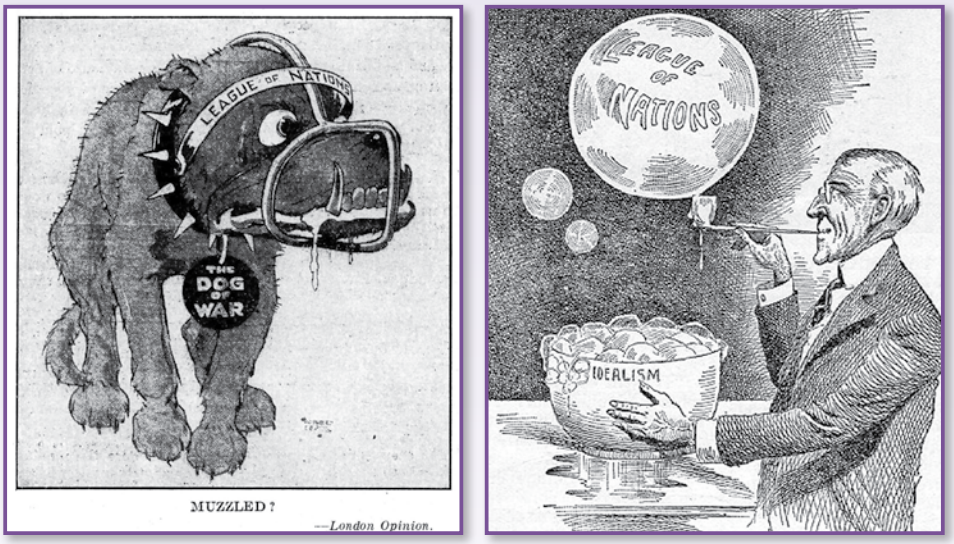



Figure 5-11 In 1919, *The Literary Digest*, a weekly current events and public opinion publication that was a forerunner of *Time* magazine, published these cartoons on the League of Nations. What opposing views of the League do the cartoons present?

## Explorations

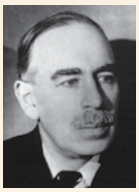
1. The first three of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points called for
   - open diplomacy and no secret deals between nations
   - freedom of the seas for all countries
   - open and equal trade among nations

   Comment on these proposals in light of your current understanding of nationalism and globalization. List points that show how — and why — these ideas have or have not emerged in today's world.

# THE VIEW FROM HERE

The Treaty of Versailles was controversial. Some people believed that it was too harsh. Others, such as Ferdinand Foch, the Allies' supreme commander, who had accepted the German surrender on November 11, 1918, believed that it was too lenient. Foch feared that Germany would rebuild its military strength. He said, "This is not a peace treaty. It is an armistice of 20 years."

Here is how three people have evaluated the Treaty of Versailles at different times.



In 1919, **John Maynard Keynes**, who would later help shape international economic policies, was part of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I.

> The future life of Europe was not [the treaty writers'] concern; its means of livelihood was not their anxiety. Their preoccupations, good and bad alike, related to frontiers and nationalities, to the balance of power, to imperial aggrandizements, to the future enfeeblement of a strong and dangerous enemy, to revenge, and to the shifting by the victors of their unbearable financial burdens on to the shoulders of the defeated.

Shortly after the start of World War II in 1939, **Joachim von Ribbentrop**, the foreign minister in Adolf Hitler's Nazi government, blamed the Treaty of Versailles for provoking the German invasion of Poland.

> The Führer [Hitler] has done nothing but remedy the most serious consequences which this most unreasonable of dictates in history [the Treaty of Versailles] imposed upon a nation and, in fact, upon the whole of Europe, in other words repair the worst mistakes committed by none other than the statesmen of the Western democracies.

In 2001, Canadian historian **Margaret MacMillan** published an award-winning book, *Paris 1919,* which examined how peace was negotiated.

> With different leadership in the Western democracies, with stronger democracy in Weimar Germany [a common name for Germany between 1919 and 1933], without the damage done by the Depression, the story might have turned out differently. And without Hitler to mobilize the resentments of ordinary Germans and to play on the guilty consciences of so many in the democracies, Europe might not have had another war so soon after the first. The Treaty of Versailles is not to blame. It was never consistently enforced, or only enough to irritate German nationalism without limiting German power to disrupt the peace of Europe. With the triumph of Hitler and the Nazis in 1933, Germany had a government that was bent on destroying the Treaty of Versailles.

## Explorations

1. What common thread weaves through the words of all three speakers and writers?
2. What evidence supports the idea that revenge was a motive in the Treaty of Versailles?
3. How did the Treaty of Versailles fan the flames of nationalism in Germany? If Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points had been accepted as the basis of the Treaty of Versailles, do you think Germans would have felt differently? Explain your judgment.

## National Interests after World War I

**CheckForward**

You will read more about the situation after World War I in Chapter 6.

Once World War I ended, many Canadians turned their attention to domestic concerns. The war had created an industrial boom, but this died out, and many returning Canadian veterans had trouble finding work. This created unrest, and people's personal, collective, and national interests began to focus more on what was happening at home and less on events in other countries. Domestic issues became more important than foreign policy concerns.

A similar shift in priorities took place in many other countries that had been involved in the war. Belgium and France, deeply in debt, focused on rebuilding cities, towns, and farms. Britain had serious problems in its empire, especially in India. There, Mohandas Gandhi was leading a nationalist program of peaceful civil disobedience that was hurting an already battered British economy.

Unity among the Allies, who had created the Treaty of Versailles, soon disappeared. The French, who had the most to gain from a successful treaty, were unable to enforce it on their own.

### Nationalism and National Interests in the Middle East

In the years before World War I, Arabs in the Ottoman Empire had suffered political, cultural, and linguistic persecution at the hands of the ruling Turks. During the war, Arab nationalism — based on shared traditions, religion, language, and history — had been growing. The Arabs' goal was self-government. To further this dream, they had helped the Allies fight the Turks and Germany in the Middle East. In return, they had been promised an independent homeland.

From 1916 to 1918, Prince Emir Faysal, a son of Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali of Mecca, had led Arab fighters against the Ottoman Turks and helped the British gain control of Palestine in 1917. But at the time, Faysal did not know that Britain and France had secretly agreed to divide up the Middle East and control it themselves. Although Faysal travelled to Paris in 1919 to try to persuade the treaty negotiators to keep their promise to his people, he was unsuccessful.

Why might these foreign powers be in a position to control the national destiny of Arabs? If you were an Arab who had been promised self-government after World War I, how do you think you would have responded to the broken promises of Britain and France? How might this situation have affected your feelings of nationalism and your future attitude toward these countries?

**VOICES**

I am directed by the Government of Great Britain to inform you that you may rest assured that Great Britain has no intention of concluding any peace in terms of which the freedom of the Arab people from German and Turkish domination does not form an essential condition.

*— Henry McMahon, British high commissioner in Egypt, to Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali of Mecca, December 1915*

**VOICES**

The Arabs have long enough suffered under foreign domination. The hour has at last struck when we are to come into our own again . . . Why should not the Arabs rule the country where they live and have lived for countless generations? Why should we not be masters in our own house?

*— Faysal, son of Sharif Husayn ibn 'Ali, at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919*

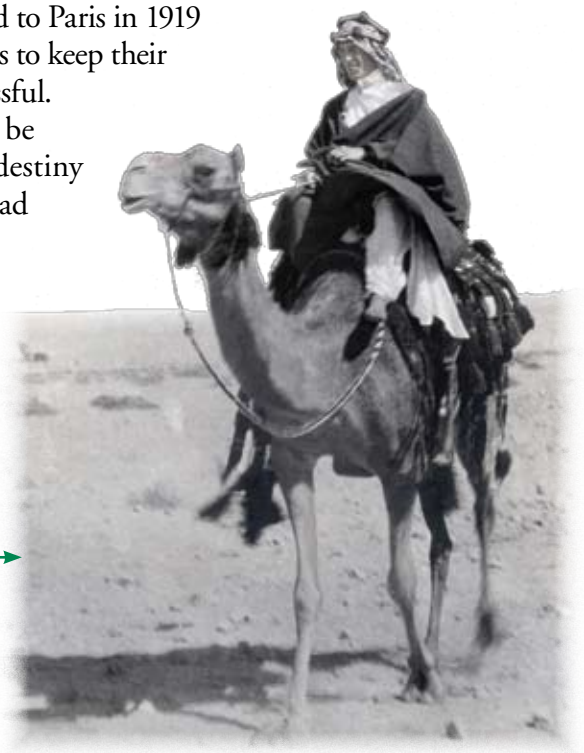


Figure 5-12 T.E. Lawrence, also known as Lawrence of Arabia, was a British officer who played an important role in the Arab rebellion against the Turks and came to passionately support Arab independence. At the Paris Peace Conference, Lawrence tried unsuccessfully to persuade the British and French to keep their promise to their Arab allies. What conflicting loyalties might Lawrence have felt?

## Treaties in the Middle East

**CheckBack**

You read about Mustafa Kemal and Turkish nationalism in Chapter 1.

The Treaty of Versailles was not the only treaty negotiated after World War I. Other treaties gave France control over the territory and the peoples of Syria and Lebanon, while Britain was granted control over the territory and peoples of Cyprus, Iraq, and Palestine, which included Transjordan. Today, much of Palestine has become Israel and the country of Jordan has emerged out of Transjordan.

Although the United States was not involved, U.S. president Wilson supported Britain and France. Neither he nor Clemenceau nor Lloyd George paid much attention to earlier promises or to the national interests of the Middle Eastern peoples who would be affected by their actions. The Allies were concerned only with their own national interests.

As a result of the mechanized warfare that had been introduced in World War I and the growing popularity of the automobile, oil was becoming a more important commodity. And the Middle East was rich in oil. France and Britain believed that controlling much of the Middle East would promote their nationalist interests by securing trade with the region — and a ready source of oil.

But Arab nationalists throughout the region were outraged by what happened. They became even angrier when the British enacted the Balfour Declaration, which promised to set up "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. Arab nationalists viewed these actions as a betrayal of promises that had been made to them.

After the war, a nationalist party led by Mustafa Kemal set up a republic in Turkey. The new government refused to accept the European peace treaty and won independence for Turkey in 1923. Turkey was admitted to the League of Nations in 1932, the same year as Iraq and six years after Germany.

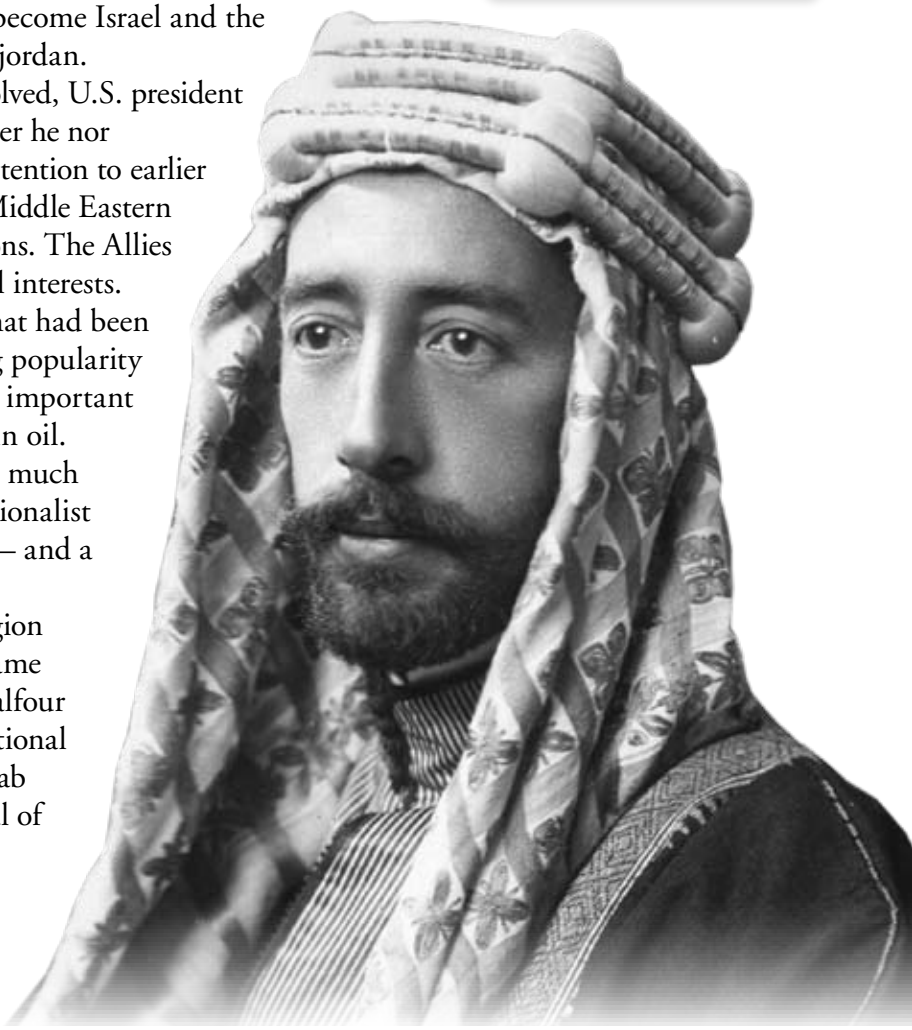


Figure 5-13 To gain Faysal's support, the British arranged for him to be crowned king of Iraq in 1921. T.E. Lawrence wrote that Faysal "looks like a European, and very like the monument of [English king] Richard I at Fontevrault." Why do you think Lawrence might have placed this particular spin on Faysal's appearance?

## Reflect and Respond

In *Paris 1919*, Margaret MacMillan wrote: "The peacemakers of 1919 made mistakes . . . By their offhand treatment of the non-European world, they stirred up resentments for which the West is still paying today . . . In the Middle East, they threw together peoples, in Iraq most notably, who still have not managed to cohere into a civil society."

Explain how the foreign policies of Britain and France after World War I — as well as their pursuit of their national interests — might have helped create the resentments MacMillan identified.

If you had been an adviser at the Paris Peace Conference, would you have recommended that the United States, Britain, and France follow a different policy? Explain your response.

# Oil and National Interest in Iraq

Until World War I, the world had paid little attention to the country that is now known as Iraq. But as the 20th century unfolded, geography — in the form of vast oil reserves — ensured that Iraq would assume greater and greater importance on the world stage.

Some experts estimate that nearly 25 per cent of the world's oil reserves are located in Iraq. These reserves could serve the country's national interest by providing economic prosperity for the country's 27.5 million people. But oil has not brought prosperity to Iraqis. From the end of World War I to the present, the struggle to control Iraq's oil has caused wars, civil conflict, and invasions.

The most recent invasion took place in March 2003, when Iraq was attacked by 300 000 soldiers from the United States, Britain, and a coalition of other countries. U.S. president George W. Bush and British prime minister Tony Blair said the purpose of the invasion was to protect their countries' national security by deposing Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and destroying Iraq's weapons of mass destruction — WMDs. Saddam was captured and executed — but no WMDs were found. Four years later, about 150 000 coalition troops remained in Iraq, along with more than 100 000 people who worked for private military contractors.

## Iraq after World War I

After World War I, Iraq was one of the new Middle Eastern nation-states that the Allies carved out of the former Ottoman Empire. These new countries were created to serve the national interest of Britain and France, which needed Middle Eastern oil to fuel their cars, trucks, factories, and military vehicles.

Over the course of the 20th century, many countries came to depend on oil produced in Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries. To ensure that they could sell their oil at a single price — and to sustain their own economies — Middle Eastern oil producers, including Iraq, formed the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries in 1960.

In 1990, Saddam invaded neighbouring Kuwait in an attempt to take over that country's oil fields. This invasion, which became known as the Persian Gulf War, was condemned by the United Nations and foiled by a U.S.-led coalition. After that, Saddam was rumoured to be stockpiling WMDs to use against Israel and other countries. Though Saddam denied the rumours, the UN sent inspectors to search for these weapons.

Figure 5-14 Iraq

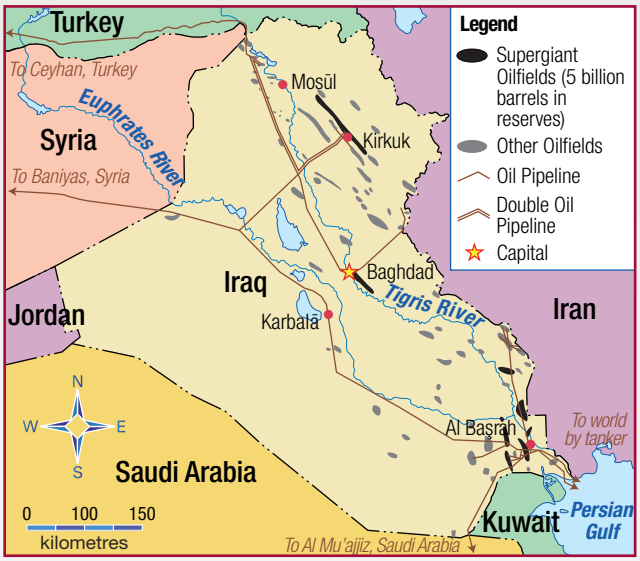



Figure 5-15 Iraq, 1920 to 2005

**1920** — Britain controls Iraq after World War I

**1932–1979** — Iraq gains partial independence but internal struggle for control continues

**1979** — Saddam Hussein seizes power

**1980–1988** — Iraq is at war with Iran

**1990–1991** — Iraq invades Kuwait and is defeated by U.S.-led coalition of United Nations forces

**2003** — U.S. and Britain invade Iraq and establish a coalition government that includes men, women, Sunnis, Shiites, Kurds, and one Christian

**2005** — Elections take place in Iraq

## U.S. National Interest and Foreign Policy

After September 11, 2001, when al-Qaeda terrorists attacked the United States and killed 2819 people, Americans became worried about their personal security. In response, Bush announced a "war on terror" and vowed to track down al-Qaeda members and their leader, Osama bin Laden.

By March 2003, Bush had convinced many Americans that invading Iraq was in their national interest because Saddam planned to sell WMDs to al-Qaeda. Bush was joined by Britain and some other countries. But the UN, whose inspectors had found no WMDs, refused to support the invasion. Without UN approval, Canada and other countries refused to join the U.S. Still, the invasion went ahead.

Noam Chomsky, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said that the decision to invade Iraq had little to do with terrorism. "The real reason for the invasion, surely, is that Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world, very cheap to exploit, and is at the heart of the world's major hydrocarbon resources," Chomsky said.

But U.S. vice-president Dick Cheney said that America would be safer when Iraq no longer offered "safe havens for terrorists or places where people can gather and plan and organize attacks against the United States."

By 2007, opinion polls showed that a majority of Americans opposed the Iraq war and did not believe that keeping troops in Iraq increased their security.

## Iraqi National Interest and Foreign Policy

By the end of 2007, Saddam had been deposed and executed, and Iraqis had elected a government. But safety and security were a major concern. Every day, Iraqis experienced deadly violence as coalition, ethnic, and religious forces clashed. In 2006, 34 452 Iraqi civilians were killed. More than 36 000 were wounded. About 60 000 people a month were forced from their homes.

Iraq's **gross domestic product** — the value of all goods and services produced in a country every year — was only $1900 a person. By comparison, Canada's GDP was $35 700 a person. Iraqis also lacked adequate health care, water, food, electricity, and sewage disposal.

A 2006 opinion poll conducted in Iraq found that about 90 per cent of respondents believed that they had been better off before the invasion. About 70 per cent wanted coalition forces to leave the country.

Factions inside and outside Iraq continued the struggle for control of its oil. By February 2008, 70 international companies were preparing to compete for the rights to develop the country's oil reserves. The Iraqi government's challenge was to find a way to ensure that the country's oil resources would be used to improve its citizens' economic prosperity and quality of life.

Figure 5-16 On May 1, 2003, under a banner that said "Mission Accomplished," U.S. president George W. Bush gave a famous speech suggesting that the United States had achieved its goals in Iraq. Four years later, American cartoonist M.e. Cohen created this cartoon to mock Bush's pronouncement. What message do you think Cohen was sending? Explain your response.

## Explorations

1. Examine the timeline in Figure 5-15. Choose three events that relate directly to national interest. Explain whose national interests were involved and what these interests were.
2. Many historians believe that the developed world's need for oil created — and destroyed — Iraq. Comment on this conclusion.
3. Is pursuing the economic and security interests of one country an appropriate reason for that country to invade another country? Is there a right or wrong answer to this question? Explain your response.

# How has foreign policy shaped national interest?

Nationalism, foreign policy, and national interest can be understood as a complex and constantly changing web. Though the pursuit of national interest often shapes foreign policy, foreign policy can also shape national interest. A government's policies can affect its citizens' safety and security, their economic future, and even their values and culture. When Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia in 1914, for example, that single foreign policy decision affected the Austro-Hungarian people's personal security, their economic prosperity, and their culture for decades to come.

**FYI**

The Mashco Piro and Nahua are among several nomadic peoples who choose to isolate themselves deep in Peru's rainforests. When these peoples do come into contact with outsiders, disaster is often the result. In 1984, for example, loggers kidnapped four Nahua people, who caught the flu from their captors. When the Nahua returned to their community, they infected others. The infection ripped through the community and killed half the Nahua.

## Foreign Policy and Contending National Interests in Peru

A country's foreign policy may benefit some communities but have negative effects on others. This is what is happening in Peru.

In 2007, the Peruvian government decided that it would be in the national interest to auction land in the Amazon rainforest to foreign-owned oil companies for development. The wealth generated by oil exploration and extraction could help Peruvians, whose GDP in 2006 was $6600 a person.

But the land in question forms part of the traditional territory of the Mashco Piro, an Indigenous people who shun contact with outsiders. The Mashco Piro do not want to move to another part of the forest or become part of the outside world.

Figure 5-17 This photograph of a Mashco Piro shelter and campfire was taken in Peru's Alto Purús National Park. The 600 or so Mashco are a nomadic people who are so elusive that very few people have had contact with them.

Peruvian law says that if Indigenous people live in a region, the land must be kept for their use. But this law can be set aside if the land is used in a way that contributes to the country's national interest — and Perupetro, Peru's government-owned oil company, has since auctioned off some of the land to Spanish and American oil companies.

In September 2007, the Peruvian government signed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as part of its foreign policy. The declaration says that Indigenous peoples have the right not only to territories and resources they have traditionally owned, occupied, and used, but also to own, use, develop, and control territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use.

Consider the contending national interests involved in the use of the Peruvian rainforest. Keep in mind, too, that rainforests help to check global climate change. Does this make everyone in the world a stakeholder in the debate over how the rainforest is used? With a partner, discuss this question — and how you might try to reconcile the contending national interests of the Mashco Piro, Nahua, and other Peruvians. How are the rights of the Mashco Piro, Nahua, and other peoples supported by the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples?

## 9/11 and Canada in Afghanistan

The 9/11 attacks on the United States killed 2982 people, including 24 Canadians. It was generally believed that the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan were hiding and protecting Osama bin Laden and other members of al-Qaeda, which had claimed responsibility for the attacks.

As a result, the United Nations agreed that the United States and its allies were entitled to invade Afghanistan to destroy the Taliban and track down bin Laden. Han Seung-soo, president of the General Assembly, announced that the 9/11 attacks had threatened international peace and security and that the United States had "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence as recognized by the Charter of the United Nations." The UN authorized the North Atlantic Treaty Organization — NATO — to organize this mission, which started in 2001.

As part of its foreign policy after World War II, Canada had helped found NATO. The treaty that created NATO in 1949 said that an attack on one member would be considered an attack on all. As a result, forces from Canada and other countries, including the United States and Britain, went to Afghanistan under the NATO banner.

The Taliban government fell, and Canadian forces helped keep peace while a new government was organized. But when the U.S. invaded Iraq in 2003, many of the American troops in Afghanistan were reassigned to Iraq. This reduced the size of the NATO force in Afghanistan. To make up this shortfall, other countries, such as Canada, increased the size of their force and expanded their role to include active combat.

This foreign policy shift was controversial. Most Canadians had opposed the Iraq invasion, and some now charged that the decision to increase the number of Canadian troops in Afghanistan was a way of helping the government solve a difficult problem: how to appear to support its American ally's war on terror while responding to public opinion by staying out of the war in Iraq.

Jean Chrétien was prime minister when the government decided not to join the American-led invasion of Iraq. Read "Voices." Why do you suppose Chrétien regards this decision as a "great moment for Canada"? What statement does this decision make about Canadians' view of their national interests and foreign policy?

Figure 5-18 A month before the U.S. launched its invasion of Iraq, people around the world organized a day of protest against the American plans. In Canada, where a majority of people supported the government's decision not to join the invasion, demonstrations took place in 70 towns and cities. What national interests do you suppose these Canadians were supporting?

### VOICES

For the independence of the country, saying no to the Americans on the war [in Iraq] was a great moment for Canada. Of course, it was not without risk. Suppose the war in Iraq had been a great success, I think it would have been a bit embarrassing for me. But I thought [the Americans] were wrong and I said so.

*— Jean Chrétien, former prime minister, in an interview, 2007*

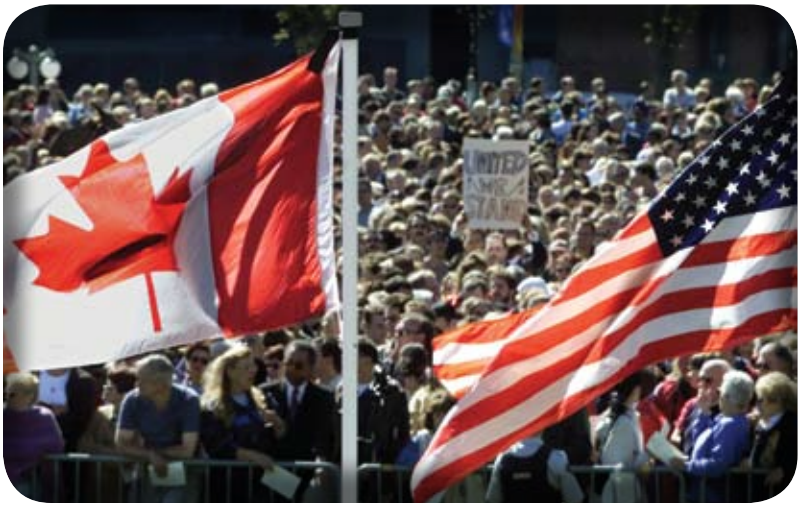


Figure 5-19 The Canadian government declared September 14, 2001, a day of mourning for those who had died in the September 11 attacks on the United States. In Ottawa, up to 80 000 people attended a Parliament Hill rally to show their support for the victims of the attack. How did the attacks affect Canadians' views on their country's national interests and foreign policies?

Figure 5-20 This cartoon by Michael de Adder appeared in the Halifax *Daily News* in April 2007. What do you think the cartoonist is saying about the debate over Canada's foreign policy with respect to Afghanistan?

## Debate over Afghanistan

As the fighting in Afghanistan dragged on, Canada and its NATO allies realized that they must place greater emphasis on creating a democratic, self-sufficient society in that country. In addition to making the country more secure, this meant helping Afghans rebuild their economy, political processes, medical facilities, and armed forces and police. But these goals proved difficult to achieve. Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters were using guerrilla tactics to disrupt the lives of the Afghan people and battle NATO forces. By mid-March 2008, 81 Canadian soldiers and one diplomat had been killed in the fighting, and it looked as if the death toll would continue to rise. The continuing conflict created a debate in Canada over whether — and how long — Canadian troops should remain in Afghanistan.

According to Canadian Women for Women in Afghanistan, a Calgary-based organization, the debate over Afghanistan revolved around the following issues:

- the validity of Canada's mission
- the financial cost of the mission
- the combat role of Canadian forces
- the threat to the lives of Canadian forces
- the relationship with the other forces operating in Afghanistan
- the length of the mission

Canadian politicians disagreed over how to resolve these issues. NDP leader Jack Layton believed that a military role was "not the right mission for Canada." He said, "Canadians want a foreign policy rooted in fact, not fear, one that is uniquely independent, not ideologically imported. And one that leads the world into peace, not [one that] follows the U.S. into wars."

But Michael Ignatieff, deputy leader of the federal Liberals, disagreed. He said that Canadians and their NATO allies were trying to stabilize the country "at the request of the Afghan people." And Prime Minister Stephen Harper said, "Canada went into Afghanistan for very real reasons of national security and international security. Because as 9/11 showed, if we abandon our fellow human beings to lives of poverty, brutality and ignorance, in today's global village, their misery will eventually and inevitably become our own."

In July 2007, The Strategic Counsel surveyed Canadians to find out what they thought of Canada's policies in Afghanistan. Examine the poll results, shown in Figure 5-20. With a partner, discuss whether asking questions like these is appropriate when Canadian troops are fighting overseas.

Figure 5-21 Canadian Opinion on Afghanistan, July 2007

### Do Canadians support or oppose sending troops to Afghanistan?

| | |
|---|---|
| Total supporting | 36% |
| Strongly support | 7% |
| Support | 29% |
| Oppose | 31% |
| Strongly oppose | 27% |
| Total opposing | 59% |
| Don't know | 5% |

### What do Canadians think is the main reason for our involvement in Afghanistan?

| | |
|---|---|
| Canada is in Afghanistan mainly because of pressure from the U.S. in response to the attack on 9/11 | 44% |
| Canada is in Afghanistan because it has an obligation within the broader international community to respond to the threat of global terrorism | 53% |
| Don't know | 3% |

### Canadian casualties: Is it the price we have to pay, or is the price too high?

| | |
|---|---|
| This is the price that must be paid | 36% |
| Price is too high | 60% |
| Don't know | 4% |

Source: The Strategic Counsel

## National Interests and Rights for Women

When the Taliban controlled Afghanistan, girls were not allowed to go to school and women were not allowed to have careers. Although the new NATO-backed government created a ministry of women's affairs to change this situation, Taliban resistance was causing concern. In September 2006, the Taliban took credit for assassinating Safia Ama Jan, an official with the women's ministry.

Sima Samar was Afghanistan's first minister of women's affairs. In 2007, she headed the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, which monitors the progress of government agencies and other institutions toward implementing human rights laws and policies. Samar said that changing Afghanistan will take time. "We started in 2001 with no systems at all," she said. "We have accomplished a lot . . . Democracy is a process — it doesn't come because you shout at it. You have to deal with the weak points and you can't have it without the participation of half the population [women]."

Figure 5-22 During the Taliban regime, Sima Samar, a doctor, ran clinics and schools for girls and women in Afghanistan. In response to death threats, she said, "Go ahead. Hang me in the public square and tell the people my crime — I was giving papers and pencils to the girls."

## Taking Turns

### Has Canadian foreign policy in Afghanistan supported the national interests of the Afghan people?

The students responding to this question are Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway; Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Calgary; and Violet, who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement.

Pearl

We need to do more to help girls and women in Afghanistan. Sima Samar's story shocked me. Can you imagine not being able to go to school just because you're a girl? Afghan women need better health care and education, and they need protection. Canadian policies in Afghanistan should help Afghan women learn about their rights. And the Canadians should help the Afghan government enforce these rights.

I think that we should get out of Afghanistan — right now. I don't agree with our government's foreign policy. We aren't really helping the Afghan people; we're fighting with them. And don't we have enough problems with security and inequality in our own country without meddling in other countries' affairs? We need to take care of our own national interests first. Then maybe we can go and help people in other countries.

Jean

Violet

My big brother is in the Princess Patricias, and he did a tour in Afghanistan. I support Canada's foreign policy on Afghanistan and the work that Canadian troops are doing over there. They're taking care of our national interests because they're making the world safer for everyone. It wasn't easy for my brother and the other soldiers to go so far away to try to help people enjoy the kinds of freedoms that we take for granted in Canada. Sometimes, though, I worried about my brother and I missed him — a lot.

## Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Pearl, Jean, and Violet are answering? Do views they did not mention affect your response? What does this discussion show about the complications involved in balancing foreign policy decisions with the pursuit of national interest?

1. With a partner, create a chart like the one shown.
   a) In the first column, list five priorities (e.g., Arctic sovereignty) that you believe governments in Canada should actively pursue because they are in the national interest.
   b) In the second column, provide several reasons for each choice.
   c) In the third column, list the stakeholders affected by each choice.
   d) In the fourth column, identify one government action or strategy that could help promote the priority.
   e) Compare your chart with that of another pair. Revise your chart to reflect changes in your views as a result of this discussion.

2. Review the chart you completed in response to Question 1. On the basis of your list of priorities, the reasons for the choices, and the stakeholders you identified, write a short essay explaining the extent to which Canada should — or should not — pursue its national interests.
   a) Begin by deciding whether any nation should actively pursue its national interests. You may decide, for example, that it depends on the national interest, on events in the country and elsewhere, and the national and international effects that would result. Establish criteria to help you judge whether pursuing national interests is the most effective course for the government and the people living in Canada.
   b) With your criteria in mind, review the material in this and other chapters of *Exploring Nationalism* and use this material as examples to support your arguments.

| Canada's National Interests | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Priority | Reasons for Choice | Stakeholders | Action or Strategy |
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

3. With a partner, review the responses to the opinion poll on Canada's involvement in Afghanistan (Figure 5-21, p. 132). Then choose one of the actions or strategies you identified in Question 1.

   Make up three statements or questions that you could present to the public to help you measure the degree of support for the action or strategy you identified. Each question or statement should highlight an aspect of the national interest and provide respondents with a number of options for indicating the strength of their response. If, for example, your strategy recommended an increased military presence in Canada's North, your statement might say:

   A strong military presence in the Arctic is essential to protect Canada's security? Do you

   a) agree strongly

   b) agree somewhat

   c) disagree somewhat

   d) disagree strongly

   e) don't know

   Check your statements or questions by responding yourselves to ensure that they will elicit the types of responses you are seeking.

   Poll at least 10 people. They could include family, friends, classmates, teachers, or other people willing to respond. Tabulate your results in charts similar to those shown on page 132.

   On the basis of these results, prepare a recommendation for the government. If you wish, you may explain why you believe the poll results turned out as they did.

4. Examine the cartoon in Figure 5-23. It explores Canadian national interests and the North. Then respond to the following questions:
   - What "story" is the cartoonist telling?
   - How does this story reflect a Canadian national interest?
   - What position on the national interest do you think the cartoonist is taking? As evidence, give specific examples shown in the cartoon.
   - What sense of Arctic sovereignty as a national interest do the scene and setting evoke?
   - Do you think the cartoonist believes Canada should pursue a more aggressive policy in the North? Explain your response.

Figure 5-23

## Think about Your Challenge

Your challenge for this related issue is to prepare an investigative report on a historical or contemporary nationalist movement to help you respond to the related-issue question: To what extent should national interest be pursued? Now is the time to start conducting research so that you can choose a movement. Begin putting together ideas that will help you track down sources.

You should also decide on the form your report will take. This decision will affect the kind, amount, and format of the information you gather. Prepare a chart to help you organize this information (an example is shown on p. 113).